

## CHAPTER 10

# Elections and Campaigns

### REVIEWING THE CHAPTER

#### CHAPTER FOCUS

This chapter takes you on a cook's tour of some of the scholarly examinations, the common folklore, and the amazing intricacies of America's most enduring and exciting political institution, the election. Major topics include, but are not limited to, the debate over just how democratic elections are (given a very low voter turnout), the new personalistic nature of campaigning in the latter part of the twentieth century, the role that money plays in determining outcomes, the role of special-interest groups, so-called realigning elections, and the elements of successful coalition building by Democrats and Republicans. After reading and reviewing the material in this chapter, you should be able to do each of the following:

1. Explain why elections in the United States are both more democratic and less democratic than those of other countries.
2. Demonstrate the differences between the party-oriented campaigns of the nineteenth century and the candidate-oriented ones of today, explaining the major elements of a successful campaign for office today.
3. Discuss how important campaign funding is to election outcomes, what the major sources of such funding are under current law, and how successful reform legislation has been in purifying U.S. elections of improper monetary influences.
4. Discuss the partisan effects of campaigns, or why the party with the most registered voters does not always win the election.
5. Define the term *realigning election* and discuss the major examples of such elections in the past, as well as recent debates over whether realignment is again underway.
6. Describe what the Democrats and the Republicans, respectively, must do to put together a successful national coalition to achieve political power in any election.
7. Outline the major arguments on either side of the question of whether elections result in major changes in public policy in the United States.

#### STUDY OUTLINE

- I. Introduction
  - A. 2008 presidential race
    1. Over a dozen candidates
    2. Early start
    3. Millions of dollars raised
  - B. Comparison with previous elections
    1. 1968, Humphrey won nomination without competing in state primaries

2. 1968, Humphrey raised little money compared to today's also-rans
  3. 1988, Bush campaign relatively small scale
- II. Campaigns then and now
- A. Key changes relate to parties, media and money
  - B. Parties
    1. Once determined, or powerfully influenced who was nominated
    2. Congressional caucuses were replaced by national nominating conventions and local party leaders
    3. Most people voted straight party ticket
    4. Candidates are "on their own" with assistance from
      - a) Media consultants
      - b) Direct mail firms
      - c) Polling firms
      - d) Political technology firms
  - C. Media and money
    1. Today's candidates depend—and spend—the most on media
    2. Impact of ads not clear
      - a) No clear relationship between exposure and victory
      - b) Recent study found plurality of ads appealed to voter's fears
      - c) More effective with those interested in politics, with higher levels of information
  - D. Better or worse?
    1. Increasing emphasis on polling
      - a) Commonly used to guide ads, communications, positions on issues, speeches and attire
      - b) Also used to shape or change voters' attitudes
      - c) Micro targeting and grass roots campaigns
    2. Increasing dependence on the strategic expertise of political consultants
    3. Campaigning has become synonymous with fundraising
- III. Elections here and abroad
- A. Two phases: getting nominated and getting elected
    1. Getting on the ballot is largely an individual effort
    2. An organizational effort in most European nations
    3. Parties play a minor role here
  - B. Presidential and congressional campaigns
    1. Presidential races are more competitive
      - a) House races have lately been one-sided for Democrats
      - b) Presidential winner rarely gets more than 55 percent of the vote
      - c) Most House incumbents are reelected (more than 90 percent)
    2. Fewer people vote in congressional elections
      - a) Unless election coincides with presidential election
      - b) Gives greater importance to partisan voters (party regulars)
    3. Congressional incumbents can service their constituents
      - a) Can take credit for governmental grants, programs, and so forth
      - b) President can't: power is not local
    4. Congressional candidates can duck responsibility
      - a) "I didn't do it; the people in Washington did!"
      - b) President is stuck with blame
      - c) But local candidates can suffer when their leader's economic policies fail
    5. Benefit of presidential coattails has declined
      - a) Congressional elections have become largely independent
      - b) Reduces meaning (and importance) of party

- C. Running for president
    - 1. Getting mentioned
      - a) Using reporters, trips, speeches, and name recognition
      - b) Sponsoring legislation, governing large state
    - 2. Setting aside time to run
      - a) Reagan: six years. Mondale: four years.
      - b) May have to resign from office first
    - 3. Background of candidate can make a difference
      - a) Voters seem to prefer those with experience as governor or military heroes
      - b) Some members of Congress and former members with experience as vice-president have been elected
    - 4. Money
      - a) Individuals can give \$2,000, political action committees (PACs) \$5,000
      - b) Candidates must raise \$5,000 in twenty states to qualify for matching grants to pay for primary
    - 5. Organization
      - a) Need a large (paid) staff
      - b) Need volunteers
      - c) Need advisers on issues: position papers
    - 6. Strategy and themes
      - a) Incumbent versus challenger: defend or attack?
      - b) Setting the tone (positive or negative)
      - c) Developing a theme: trust, confidence, and so on
      - d) Judging the timing
      - e) Choosing a target voter: who's the audience?
  - D. Getting elected to Congress
    - 1. Malapportionment and gerrymandering
    - 2. Establishing the size of the House
    - 3. Winning the primary
      - a) Ballot procedures
      - b) Developing a personal following for the "party's" nomination
      - c) Incumbent advantage
    - 4. Sophomore surge
      - a) Using the perks of office
      - b) Campaigning for/against Congress
    - 5. Impact of the way we elect individuals to Congress
      - a) Legislators closely tied to local concerns
      - b) Weak party leadership
- IV. Primary versus general campaigns
- A. Kinds of elections and primaries: general versus primary elections and caucuses
  - B. Each election or caucus attracts a different mix of voters so strategy must change
    - 1. Primaries and caucuses
      - a) Must mobilize political activists who give money, do volunteer work and are willing to attend caucuses
      - b) Such activists are more ideologically stringent than the average voter
        - (1) So Democratic candidates need to be more liberal in their tone and theme
        - (2) Republican candidates must be more conservative in their tone and theme
    - 2. Example: the Iowa caucus
      - a) Held in February so winner can gain an early advantage in media attention and fund raising efforts

- b) Participants are not representative of party members in the state, much less the nation
    - c) Procedural oddities exist as well
  - C. The balancing game exists in every state where activists are more ideologically polarized than the average voter
    - 1. Possible result: the “clothespin vote”
    - 2. John Kerry in 2004 and George McGovern in 1972
    - 3. Front runners in early polls rarely prevail
  - D. Two kinds of campaign issues
    - 1. Position issues
    - 2. Valence issues
    - 3. Trends in recent elections
  - E. Television, debates, and direct mail
    - 1. Paid advertising (spots)
      - a) Has little (or a very subtle) effect on outcome: spots tend to cancel each other out
      - b) Most voters rely on many sources of information
    - 2. News broadcasts (visuals)
      - a) Cost little
      - b) May have greater credibility with voters
      - c) Rely on having TV camera crew around
      - d) May be less informative than spots
    - 3. Debates
      - a) Usually an advantage only to the challenger
      - b) Reagan in 1980: reassured voters
      - c) Three debates between Bush and Kerry did not seem to have an impact on the results of the election
    - 4. Risk of slips of the tongue on visuals and debates
      - a) Ford and Poland, Carter and lust, Reagan and trees
      - b) Forces candidates to rely on stock speeches
      - c) Sell yourself, not your ideas
    - 5. Free television time to major presidential candidates in 1996
    - 6. The Internet
      - a) Makes sophisticated direct-mail campaigns possible
      - b) Allows candidates to address specific voters and solicit contributions
      - c) Creates increased importance to mailing lists
    - 7. The gap between running a campaign and running the government
      - a) Party leaders had to worry about reelection
      - b) Today’s political consultants don’t
- V. Money
  - A. The sources of campaign money
    - 1. Presidential primaries: part private, part public money
      - a) Federal matching funds
      - b) Only match small donors: less than \$250; \$5,000 in twenty states
      - c) Gives incentive to raise money from small donors
      - d) Government also gives lump-sum grants to parties to cover conventions
    - 2. Presidential general elections: all public money
    - 3. Congressional elections: all private money
      - a) From individuals, PACs, and parties
      - b) Most from individual small donors (\$100 to \$200 a person)

- B. Campaign finance rules
1. Watergate
    - a) Dubious and illegal money-raising schemes
    - b) Democrats and Republicans benefited from unenforceable laws
    - c) Nixon's resignation and a new campaign finance law
  2. Reform law
    - a) Set limit on individual donations (\$2,000 per election)
    - b) Reaffirmed ban on corporate and union donations, but allowed them to raise money through PACs
    - c) Set limit on PAC donations (\$5,000 per election to individuals, \$15,000 per year to a party)
    - d) Federal tax money made available for primaries and general election campaigns
  3. Impact of the law
    - a) Increase in the amount of money spent on elections
    - b) Dramatic increase in PAC spending
    - c) More clever methods of solicitation (direct mail, telephone solicitation, etc.)
    - d) Additional problems: independent expenditures and soft money
  4. A second campaign finance law
    - a) Reforms can have unintended consequences
    - b) Bipartisan Campaign Finance Reform Act of 2002
      - (1) Ban on soft money
      - (2) Increase on individual contributions (to \$2,000 per candidate per election)
      - (3) Restrictions on independent expenditures
        - (a) Constitutional challenges as a violation of freedom of speech
        - (b) Court upheld almost all of the law
    - c) New sources of money: 527 organizations
      - (1) Designed to permit soft money expenditures once made by parties
      - (2) Unlimited expenditure allowed as long as there is no coordination with a candidate and no direct lobbying for that candidate
      - (3) Over 500 such organizations in 2004
- C. Money and winning
1. During peacetime, presidential elections usually decided by three things
    - a) Political party affiliation
    - b) State of the economy
    - c) Character of candidates
  2. Money makes a difference in congressional races
    - a) Challenger must spend to gain recognition
    - b) Jacobson: big-spending challengers do better
  3. Advantages of incumbency
    - a) Easier to raise money
    - b) Can provide services for constituency
    - c) Can use franked mailings
    - d) Can get free publicity through legislation and such
- VI. What decides elections?
- A. Party identification, but why don't Democrats always win?
1. Democrats less wedded to their party
  2. GOP does better among independents
  3. Republicans have higher turnout

- B. Issues, especially the economy
  - 1. V. O. Key: most voters who switch parties do so in their own interests
    - a) They know which issues affect them personally
    - b) They care strongly about emotional issues (abortion, etc.)
  - 2. Prospective voting
    - a) Know the issues and vote for the best candidate
    - b) Most common among activists and special-interest groups
    - c) Few voters use prospective voting because it requires information
  - 3. Retrospective voting
    - a) Judge the incumbent's performance and vote accordingly
    - b) Have things gotten better or worse, especially economically?
    - c) Examples: presidential campaigns of 1980, 1984, 1988, and 1992
    - d) Usually helps incumbent unless economy has gotten worse
    - e) Most elections decided by retrospective votes
    - f) Midterm election: voters turn against president's party
- C. The campaign
  - 1. Campaigns do make a difference
    - a) Reawaken voters' partisan loyalties
    - b) Let voters see how candidates handle pressure
    - c) Let voters judge candidates' characters
  - 2. Campaigns tend to emphasize themes over details
    - a) True throughout American history
    - b) What has changed is the importance of primary elections and tone of campaigns
    - c) Theme campaigns give more influence to single-issue groups
- D. Finding a winning coalition
  - 1. Ways of looking at various groups
    - a) How loyal, or percentage voting for party
    - b) How important, or number voting for party
  - 2. Democratic coalition
    - a) Blacks most loyal
    - b) Jews slipping somewhat
    - c) Hispanics somewhat mixed
    - d) Catholics, southerners, unionists departing the coalition lately
  - 3. Republican coalition
    - a) Party of business and professional people
    - b) Very loyal, defecting only in 1964
    - c) Usually wins vote of poor because of retired, elderly voters
  - 4. Contribution to Democratic coalition
    - a) Blacks loyal but small proportion
    - b) Catholics, unionists, and southerners largest part but least dependable
- VII. The effect of elections on policy
  - A. Political scientists are interested in broad trends in winning and losing
  - B. Cynics: public policy remains more or less the same no matter which official or party is in office
    - 1. Comparison: Great Britain, with parliamentary system and strong parties, often sees marked changes, as in 1945
    - 2. Reply: evidence indicates that many American elections do make great differences in policy
    - 3. Why, then, the perception that elections do not matter? Because change alternates with consolidation; most elections are only retrospective judgments

**KEY TERMS MATCH**

Match the following terms and descriptions.

- |  |                                     |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| 1. A means of soliciting funds from millions of people   | a. blanket primary                  |
| 2. Refers to states where the Republican candidate carried the electoral vote  | b. blue states                      |
| 3. Refers to states where the Democratic candidate carried the electoral vote  | c. caucus (electoral)               |
| 4. A filmed episode showing a candidate doing something newsworthy   | d. closed primary                   |
| 5. Televised pictures showing nothing more than individuals speaking   | e. Democrats                        |
| 6. Party that would always win presidential elections if party identification were the only thing that influenced the vote   | f. direct mail                      |
| 7. Party that typically gets the greater support from so-called independent voters   | g. 527 organizations                |
| 8. A voter describing herself or himself as neither a Democrat nor a Republican  | h. general election                 |
| 9. Can be given to the parties in limitless amounts so long as it is not used to back candidates by name   | i. gerrymandering                   |
| 10. The tendency for newly elected members of Congress to become strong in their districts very quickly  | j. incumbent                        |
| 11. A group legally able to solicit campaign contributions from individuals within an organization and, under certain restrictions, to funnel these to candidates for office | k. Independent                      |
| 12. An election intended to select a party's candidates for elective office  | l. open primary                     |
| 13. A meeting of voters to help choose a candidate for office  | m. malapportionment                 |
| 14. An election used to fill an elective office  | n. political action committee (PAC) |
| 15. A primary election in which voters must first declare to which party they belong   | o. position issue                   |
| 16. A primary in which voters can vote for the candidates of either the Democratic or the Republican party   | p. presidential primary             |
|  | q. primary election                 |
|  | r. prospective voting               |
|  | s. red states                       |
|  | t. Republican                       |
|  | u. retrospective voting             |
|  | v. runoff primary                   |
|  | w. soft money                       |
|  | x. sophomore surge                  |
|  | y. spots                            |
|  | z. talking heads                    |
|  | aa. valence issue                   |
|  | bb. visual                          |

17. A primary in which voters can vote for the Democratic candidates, the Republican candidates, or some from each party
18. A primary in which, to be successful, the candidate must receive a majority of all votes cast in that race
19. Organizations that, under an IRS code, raises and spends money to advance political causes
20. The person currently in office
21. The result of having districts of very unequal size
22. Drawing a district in some bizarre or unusual manner in order to create an electoral advantage
23. An issue dividing the electorate on which rival parties adopt different policy positions to attract voters
24. A primary held to select delegates to the presidential nominating conventions of the major parties
25. Voting for a candidate because one favors his or her ideas for addressing issues after the election
26. Voting for the candidate or party in office because one likes or dislikes how things have gone in the recent past
27. Short television advertisements used to promote a candidate for government office
28. An issue on which voters distinguish rival parties by the degree to which they associate each party with conditions or goals that the electorate universally supports or opposes



**DATA CHECK**

**Table 10.1 ( Page 230): Changes in State Representation in the House of Representatives**

1. Which two states gained the largest number of electoral votes from 1990 to 2000?

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2. Which two states lost the largest number of electoral votes from 1990 to 2000?

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**Figure 10.2 (Page 240): Growth of PACs**

3. How does the recent growth of corporate PACs compare with that of PACs representing labor?

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**Table 10.2 (Page 245): Top Twenty PAC Contributors to Federal Candidates, Democrats and Republicans (2005-2006)**

4. What PAC contributed the largest amount of money in 2005-2006?

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5. Which of the top PACs contributed 90 percent or more of their money to Democrats?

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6. Which of the top PACs contributed 70 percent or more to the Republicans?

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**Table 10.3 (Page 248): Percentage of Popular Vote by Groups in Presidential Election, 1960–2004**

This table indicates how voters with each set of identifiers (Republicans, Democrats, Independents) claim to have voted in a series of presidential elections. For each year the total percentages for each party equal 100 percent, divided among the various candidates. Columns are read down to see how group support has changed from one election to the next. Columns are read across to see how a candidate won votes, whether he or she built a partisan or bipartisan coalition, and whether she or he won the independent vote. Remember again that these figures are based on how people *said* they voted, not on *how* they voted.

7. In which elections did Republicans give the GOP candidate at least 90 percent of their vote?

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8. In which elections did Democrats give the Democrats 90 percent or more of their vote?

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9. What percentage of Republicans claimed to have voted for Ross Perot in 1992 and 1996?  
\_\_\_\_\_
10. What percentage of Democrats claimed to have voted for Ross Perot in 1992 and 1996?  
\_\_\_\_\_
11. Describe the vote of political Independents in the 2004 election.  
\_\_\_\_\_

### Table 10.5 (Page 252): Who Likes the Democrats?

Percentages refer to the proportion of the group stating that they voted for the Democratic presidential nominee in the indicated year.

12. Describe the relationship between education and the tendency to vote for Democratic candidates.  
\_\_\_\_\_
13. Which group appears to consistently provide the highest level of support for Democratic candidates?  
\_\_\_\_\_
14. Which group appears to consistently provide the lowest level of support for Democratic candidates?  
\_\_\_\_\_
15. In what years has the difference between male and female support for Democratic candidates been greater than 5 percent?  
\_\_\_\_\_
16. In what years has the difference between Protestants and members of the Jewish faith been greater than 20 percent?  
\_\_\_\_\_

### Figure 10.4 (Page 253): Partisan Division of the Presidential Vote in the Nation, 1856–2004

Each of the colored lines represents the percentage of the popular vote received by the major parties in presidential elections. Third parties receiving more than five percent of the popular vote are indicated by green dots.

17. The popular vote for Democratic candidates was higher than 60 percent in which election(s)?  
\_\_\_\_\_
18. The popular vote for Republican candidates was higher than 60 percent in which election(s)?  
\_\_\_\_\_
19. In which elections has popular support for either of the major parties fallen below 30 percent?  
\_\_\_\_\_

20. Which third party has gained the highest percentage of the popular vote in a presidential election?
- 

## PRACTICING FOR EXAMS

### TRUE/FALSE QUESTIONS

Read each statement carefully. Mark true statements *T*. If any part of the statement is false, mark it *F*, and write in the space provided a concise explanation of why the statement is false.

1. T F The 2008 presidential sweepstakes started in 2006.  

---
2. T F In 1968 a candidate won his party's nomination to the presidency without competing in a single state primary.  

---
3. T F Presidential races are more competitive than races for the House of Representatives.  

---
4. T F In a typical House race, the incumbent receives over 60 percent of the vote.  

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5. T F Voter turnout is higher in years when there is no presidential contest.  

---
6. T F Increasingly, congressional candidates benefit from the coattails of popular presidential candidates.  

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7. T F Members of Congress can serve for an unlimited number of terms.  

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8. T F The Constitution provides detailed instructions on the selection of representatives.  

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9. T F The Supreme Court decides how many seats a state will have in the House of Representatives.  

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10. T F The Supreme Court requires that a census is taken every ten years.  

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11. T F It is quite unusual for an incumbent to lose a primary.  

---
12. T F Congressmen often run for Congress by running against it.  

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13. T F Congressmen who claim the “delegate” role use their best judgment on issues without regard to the preferences of their district.
- 
14. T F “Trustees” seek out committee assignments and projects that will produce benefits for their districts.
- 
15. T F The several thousand Iowans who participate in their parties’ caucuses are not representative of the followers of their party in the state.
- 
16. T F The Iowa caucuses are the first real test of candidates vying for the nomination.
- 
17. T F In order to contrast himself with Howard Dean in the early primaries and caucuses, John Kerry claimed he supported the invasion of Iraq.
- 
18. T F The Democratic “frontrunner” in early polls usually gets the nomination.
- 
19. T F Many of the great party realignments have been based on valence issues.
- 
20. T F Valence issues divide both voters and candidates.
- 
21. T F The 2004 campaign relied on both valence and position issues.
- 
22. T F Television advertising probably has a greater impact on primaries.
- 
23. T F There is considerable evidence that the 2004 presidential debates had an impact on the outcome of the election.
- 
24. T F In 1980, Ronald Reagan slipped by suggesting trees cause pollution.
- 
25. T F A PAC must have at least fifty members.
- 
26. T F Most of the money for congressional campaigns comes from big business and PACs.
- 
27. T F Typically, a PAC will donate the maximum amount (\$5,000) per election to individual candidates.
-

28. T F Bush, Dean and Kerry all declined federal matching funds in the 2004 election.
- 
29. T F The reassignment in electoral votes that took place prior to the 2004 election benefited George Bush.
- 
30. T F If the U.S. Supreme Court had allowed the vote count ordered by the Florida Supreme Court to continue, Al Gore would have won.
- 
31. T F If the U.S. Supreme Court had allowed Al Gore's original request for hand counts of votes in Florida counties, he would have won.
- 
32. T F Critics of 2002 campaign finance rules have challenged their constitutionality in the courts.
- 
33. T F The text suggests campaign finance laws are not likely to take money out of politics.
- 
34. T F In good economic times the party holding the White House normally does well.
- 
35. T F The choice a presidential candidate makes for the vice-president slot is critical to winning or losing an election.
- 
36. T F In the general election, one's position on abortion is not likely to be critical.
- 
37. T F Self-proclaimed Democrats are more likely to vote than Republicans.
- 
38. T F Political activists are more likely to be prospective voters.
- 
39. T F Retrospective voters decide elections.
- 
40. T F The Republicans are often described as the party of business and professional people.
- 
41. T F Studies by scholars confirm that elections are often a critical source of policy change.
- 
42. T F Elections in ordinary times are not "critical."
-

## MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

Circle the letter of the response that best answers the question or completes the statement.

1. Among the major changes in elections in campaigns are all of the following *except*
  - a. money matters more than ever.
  - b. parties are less important.
  - c. fund raising is a non-stop activity.
  - d. media are more important.
  - e. debates are more important.
2. Research suggests political ads which \_\_\_\_\_ wield the greatest influence over voters with the greatest interest in politics.
  - a. focus on the issues
  - b. appeal to emotion
  - c. emphasize the positive characteristics of candidates
  - d. employ humor
  - e. compare and contrast candidates
3. “Campaigning” has largely become synonymous with
  - a. fundraising.
  - b. mobilization.
  - c. triangulation.
  - d. clarification.
  - e. polarizing.
4. In America, candidates win party nominations primarily through
  - a. convention politics.
  - b. the decision-making of state party leaders.
  - c. the decision-making of national party leaders.
  - d. seniority.
  - e. individual effort.
5. A major difference between presidential and congressional campaigns is that
  - a. more people vote in congressional elections.
  - b. presidential races are generally less competitive.
  - c. presidential candidates can more credibly take credit for improvements in a district.
  - d. presidential incumbents can better provide services for their constituents.
  - e. congressional incumbents can more easily duck responsibility.
6. All of the following statements about presidential and congressional races are true *except*
  - a. presidential races are more competitive.
  - b. more people vote in presidential elections.
  - c. congressional incumbents usually win.
  - d. presidents can rarely take credit for improvements in a district.
  - e. presidents can distance themselves from the “mess” in Washington.
7. Which statement best reflects the relationship between popular presidential candidates and congressional candidates of the same party?
  - a. There is considerable evidence of a coattail effect benefiting congressional candidates.
  - b. There is considerable evidence of a coattail effect benefiting presidential candidates.
  - c. Congressional candidates increasingly benefit from popular presidential candidates.
  - d. There has been a sharp decline in the benefit of presidential coattails for congressional candidates.
  - e. Congressional candidates have never benefited from the coattails of popular presidential candidates.

8. Which, according to the text, is probably least likely to be elected president?
  - a. A current member of the Senate.
  - b. A former member of Congress.
  - c. A governor.
  - d. A military hero.
  - e. A vice-president.
9. Federal law restricts the amount that any single individual can give a candidate to \_\_\_\_\_ in each election.
  - a. \$500
  - b. \$1,000
  - c. \$1,500
  - d. \$2,000
  - e. \$5,000
10. Federal law restricts the amount that a PAC can give a candidate to \_\_\_\_\_ in each election.
  - a. \$500
  - b. \$1,000
  - c. \$1,500
  - d. \$2,000
  - e. \$5,000
11. In the 1992 election, Bill Clinton chose as a theme
  - a. trust.
  - b. compassionate conservatism.
  - c. competence.
  - d. stay the course.
  - e. we need change.
12. In the 2000 election, George W. Bush chose as a theme
  - a. trust.
  - b. compassionate conservatism.
  - c. competence.
  - d. stay the course.
  - e. we need change.
13. According to the text, which of the following is a *critical* problem to solve in deciding who gets represented in the House?
  - a. Allocating seats in the House among the states.
  - b. Determining the shape of districts.
  - c. Determining the size of districts.
  - d. Establishing the total size of the House.
  - e. All of the above.
14. In 1911, Congress fixed the size of the House of Representatives at \_\_\_\_\_ members.
  - a. 50
  - b. 100
  - c. 435
  - d. 535
  - e. 537

15. The states did little about malapportionment and gerrymandering until ordered to do so by
  - a. the president.
  - b. Congress.
  - c. the Supreme Court.
  - d. political party leaders.
  - e. the Justice Department.
16. Which statement about the so-called “sophomore surge” is *correct*?
  - a. It has been around since the 1940s.
  - b. It usually means an 8 to 10 percent increase in votes.
  - c. It benefits members of the Senate more than members of the House.
  - d. It does not benefit members of the Senate at all.
  - e. It is the result of an increase in trust of the federal government.
17. Former House Speaker Thomas P. “Tip” O’Neill famously said “All politics is \_\_\_\_\_.”
  - a. local
  - b. contentious
  - c. stressful
  - d. economic
  - e. flexible
18. In order to win the party nomination, candidates need to appear particularly
  - a. liberal.
  - b. conservative.
  - c. void of anything that looks like an ideological disposition.
  - d. liberal if Democrats, conservative if Republicans.
  - e. conservative if Democrats, liberal if Republicans.
19. Voters at the Iowa Democratic caucuses, compared with other Democrats from Iowa, tend to be
  - a. void of anything that looks like an ideological disposition.
  - b. more conservative.
  - c. more liberal.
  - d. younger.
  - e. less educated.
20. When a voter casts a “clothespin” vote, he or she picks the
  - a. most comfortable, homelike candidate.
  - b. candidate most likely to endure.
  - c. most familiar candidate.
  - d. candidate that appears most reliable in a time of crisis.
  - e. least objectionable candidate.
21. Which of the following is a valence issue rather than a position issue?
  - a. Legal access to abortion.
  - b. Nuclear disarmament.
  - c. Civil rights legislation.
  - d. All of the above.
  - e. Wasted tax dollars.



22. In a(n) \_\_\_\_\_ primary, voters must declare themselves registered members of a party in advance.
- open
  - closed
  - blanket
  - runoff
  - free love
23. Which of the following statements concerning research on political advertising and television news programs is *correct*?
- News programs tend to convey more information.
  - Paid commercials often contain information seen, remembered and evaluated by the public.
  - News programs tend to make greater impressions on viewers.
  - More lengthy presentations (such as televised interviews and debates) provide more information and make greater impressions on voters.
  - News programs avoid stark visual images and campaign slogans.
24. To a political candidate, the drawback of television visuals and debates is
- their expense.
  - the risk of slipups.
  - the low audience response.
  - their lack of credibility.
  - the complications surrounding choice of back-drops.
25. If one were to argue debates can have considerable impact on the opinions of potential voters, they would most likely point to the case of
- Walter Mondale in 1984.
  - Ross Perot in 1992.
  - Bill Clinton in 1992.
  - Bill Clinton in 1996.
  - George Bush in 2004.
26. Unlike funding for presidential campaigns, the money for congressional campaigns comes from
- both private and public sources.
  - public sources only.
  - private sources only.
  - federal matching grants only.
  - state income taxes.
27. In the general election, the government pays all the costs of each candidate up to a limit set by law. In 2004, that limit was at about \_\_\_\_\_ million dollars.
- 40
  - 54
  - 64
  - 74
  - 100
28. In 2004, President Bush generally received the votes of all of the following *except*
- union members.
  - military veterans.
  - whites.
  - married couples.
  - conservatives.

29. Which of the following was a consequence of the Bipartisan Campaign Finance Reform Act of 2002?
- Impressive levels of spending by so-called 527 organizations.
  - A decrease in the costs of campaigns.
  - A reduction in the influence of money in campaigns.
  - Less restriction on “independent expenditures.”
  - Elimination of the so-called “incumbent advantage.”
30. If presidential campaigns were decided simply by party identification,
- the Democrats would always win.
  - the Republicans would always win.
  - the Democrats would win most of the time.
  - the Republicans would win most of the time.
  - there would be no intelligent way to know what the impact would be.
31. In recent presidential elections the independent vote has usually favored
- a third party.
  - the Republicans.
  - the Democrats.
  - no one party.
  - male candidates.
32. Ronald Reagan’s 1980 victory over Jimmy Carter particularly suggests the importance of
- the personal popularity of Reagan.
  - the public’s broad agreement with Reagan’s position on issues.
  - partisan loyalty in voting decisions.
  - prospective voting in presidential elections.
  - retrospective voting in presidential elections.
33. Careful statistical studies based on actual campaigns suggest that negative ads
- backfire on the candidates that use them and mobilize support for their opponents.
  - are a turn-off to voters.
  - increase the disgust of voters with politics and decrease voter turnout.
  - work by stimulating voter turnout.
  - have a major impact on levels of confidence in the political system.
34. With respect to the seemingly “negative” tone of today’s campaigns, the authors suggest it
- is not a new feature of American politics and it has been much worse.
  - is not a new feature of American politics, but it is worse now than it has ever been.
  - is a relatively new feature in American politics.
  - became a feature of American politics when pro- and antiabortion groups grew in influence.
  - tends to disappear when the nation is at war.
35. Blacks and Jews have been the most loyal supporters of
- the Democrats.
  - independent candidates.
  - minor parties.
  - nonideological candidates.
  - the Republicans.
36. The text suggests \_\_\_\_\_ are “a volatile group” and “thus quick to change parties.”
- businessmen
  - teachers
  - lawyers
  - doctors
  - farmers

## ESSAY QUESTIONS

Practice writing extended answers to the following questions. These test your ability to integrate and express the ideas that you have been studying in this chapter.

1. Identify the ways in which winning a party nomination in the United States is an individual effort.
2. Explain four major ways in which presidential and congressional elections differ.
3. What is the “sophomore surge” and to whom does it typically apply the most?
4. The local orientation of legislators have what three important effects on how policy is made?
5. List the qualifications for members of the House and members of the Senate.
6. Explain the role of ideology in primary elections and in the general election. Why do the authors suggest a candidate has to run two different elections to win?
7. Explain the difference between valence and position issues and generalize about the use of each in recent campaigns.
8. Explain how presidential candidates can qualify for matching funds in primary campaigns.
9. Describe three important changes in the Bipartisan Campaign Finance Reform Act of 2002.
10. The text suggest money does not make much of a difference in who wins or loses the general election because all of the major candidates have it. What are four other things that the text suggests “do not make much of a difference?”
11. What are some ways that campaigns do make a difference?

## ANSWERS TO KEY TERMS MATCH QUESTIONS

1. f
2. s
3. b
4. bb
5. z
6. e
7. t
8. k
9. w
10. x
11. n
12. q
13. c
14. h
15. d
16. l
17. a
18. v
19. g
20. j
21. m
22. i
23. o
24. p
25. r
26. u
27. y
28. aa

## ANSWERS TO DATA CHECK QUESTIONS

1. Florida and California.
2. New York and Pennsylvania.
3. No comparison; labor PACs have hardly grown at all.
4. National Association of Realtors.

5. International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, American Association for Justice, United Auto Workers, American Federation of Teachers, American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees and Plumbers and Pipe fitters Union.
6. National Beer Wholesalers Association and National Association of Homebuilders.
7. 1960, 1972, 1984, 1988, 2000, 2004.
8. None.
9. 1992 (17 percent); 1996 (6 percent).
10. 1992 (13 percent); 1996 (5 percent).
11. Independents claimed to have voted at a slightly higher rate (1 percent) for John Kerry.
12. Higher levels of education (grad school) are associated with higher levels of support for Democratic candidates.
13. Probably non-whites, who have an average level of support of 78 percent across ten elections.
14. Probably those in business and professional occupations, who have an average level of support of only 39 percent in the seven elections for which data are available.
15. 1980, 1988, 1996, 2000, and 2004.
16. Every year for which there are available data.
17. 1936 and 1964.
18. 1920 and 1972.
19. 1860 (Democrats), 1912 (Republicans) and 1924 (Democrats).
20. 1912, Bull Moose Party.

## ANSWERS TO TRUE/FALSE QUESTIONS

1. T
2. T
3. T
4. T
5. F Voter turnout is much higher in years when there is a presidential election than it is in mid-term elections.
6. F The amount of benefit that congressional candidates receive from the coattails of a popular president has always been in doubt. Today, it is non-existent.
7. T
8. F The Constitution says little on the topic, leaving it up to the states to decide for themselves.
9. F Congress makes this determination after the census.
10. F The Constitution makes this requirement, not the Supreme Court.
11. T
12. T
13. F Delegates attempt to act in manner that they believe would please their constituents.

14. F This describes the behavior of delegates. Trustees seek committee assignments that will enable them to address “larger” questions and issues.
15. T
16. T
17. T
18. F Muskie, Wallace, Kennedy, Hart, Cuomo and Lieberman were all Democratic frontrunners and none of them got their party’s nomination.
19. F Since 1860, many have been based on position issues.
20. F Valence issues are issues about which nearly everyone agrees.
21. T
22. T
23. F There is little evidence that they had any impact.
24. T
25. T
26. F Most of it comes from individuals.
27. F In fact, they give very little, often no more than \$500.
28. T
29. T
30. F Bush would have still won by 493.
31. F Bush would have still won by 225.
32. T
33. T
34. T
35. F The text suggests there has “rarely” been an election when this choice mattered.
36. T
37. F Self-proclaimed Republicans are more likely to vote than self-proclaimed Democrats.
38. T
39. T
40. T
41. T
42. T

## ANSWERS TO MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

1. e
2. b
3. a

4. e
5. e
6. e
7. d
8. a
9. d
10. e
11. e
12. b
13. e
14. c
15. c
16. b
17. a
18. d
19. c
20. e
21. e
22. b
23. b
24. b
25. b
26. c
27. d
28. a
29. a
30. a
31. b
32. e
33. d
34. a
35. a
36. e